This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

A
11,452

LIBRARY
UNIV. OF WIS.

Digitized by Google

The Library

of the

University of Wisconsin

Digitized by Google

A
11,452

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

The Fourth Edition,

A WARNING LETTER.

Price 2s. 6d.

Digitized by Google

This Day is published,

A

SECOND LETTER

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE

PRINCE REGENT.

By the Rev. L. T. BERGUER.

Just published, in 1 Vol. 8vo. Price 7s. boards,

A HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION OF

CARACAS;

Comprising an impartial Narrative of the Atrocities committed by the contending Parties, illustrating the real State of the Contest, both in a commercial and political point of view. Together with a description of the Llaneros, or people of the plains of South America. By MAJOR FLINTER.

Digitized by Google

A

WARNING LETTER

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

PRINCE REGENT,

INTENDED PRINCIPALLY

AS A CALL UPON THE MIDDLE RANKS,

AT THIS IMPORTANT CRISIS.

BY THE

REV. LIONEL THOMAS BERGUER.

Open the door, secure fool-hardy King:
Shall I, for love, speak treason to thy face?
Open the door, or I will break it open.

RICHARD II. ACT V. SCENE 3.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. AND J. ALLMAN,

PRINCE'S STREET, HANOVER-SQUARE.

1819.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

A
11,452

721162

PREFACE

TO THE

THIRD EDITION.

THE very flattering reception and rapid sale of two impressions of this Pamphlet, and the still increasing demand, will not allow me to go silently to press with this third *edition. That my principles, in this awful moment, are* popular, *is a source of more gratification than surprise: and while I here pledge myself* never to desert them, *I can only regret that my* powers *of advocacy are so little commensurate with my sincerity. Two events, most ominous to our threatened liberties, have occurred since my first publication of this Letter: the disgrace of* LORD FITZWILLIAM, *and the*

Digitized by Google

make a parade of modesty, and apologise for my presumption, in addressing a whole nation through such a distinguished medium as its ruling Prince: if I can command the attention which I solicit, I am of consequence, whoever I may be; and I become one *out* of, and *above* the Million, who are listening and looking on.—I wish, SIR, that this lively sense of personal dignity animated *thousands* who are more capable, but not more willing than myself, to serve my country: I wish that they would assert collectively, as they *must feel* individually, the *superbiam quæsitam meritis*. It would lay the tempest in an hour.

Without being either an *alarmist*, or a *visionary*, I am uneasy at the present aspect of things. That uneasiness has, perhaps, already impelled me beyond the

Digitized by Google

bounds of *étiquette*, in addressing the MARQUIS OF HERTFORD as I have done; but when I see the axe lying at the root of the THRONE and the CONSTITUTION—*knowing* and *feeling*, as I do, the *danger* of delay—I repeat, SIR, that ceremony becomes *disloyal:* and that it is *the duty* of every well-affected man in the empire, if he has the most distant hope of being instrumental in averting its miseries, to burst into the presence-chamber without the formality of an usher.

If your Royal Highness has not been roused into a sense of your own, and your kingdom's crisis, it must be for want of *opportunity* to come at the truth of things. The actual state of affairs is too often hid from the Prince's eye, while it is manifest as the sun to a whole surrounding world.

Digitized by Google

THE PRESS, which, according to the use made of it, is either the bulwark or the ruin of a state, *is fallen into a deplorable licentiousness.* It is no longer the palladium of the constitution, and the safeguard of the throne: perverted, prostituted, and *paid*, it is become *the engine of revolutionary principles, and the herald of overt* REBELLION. At no period,—with safety may it be asserted,—since the invention of the art of printing, has that blessing been converted into such a curse: at no period has the dissemination of works the most *diabolical*, of doctrines the most *felonious*, arrived at such a formidable pitch! From the most polished anti-ministerial writers, down to the coarsest hireling who scribbles in a garret, the venom issues in every possible combination, adapted to all tastes, and level with all capacities.*

* This is no censure upon the present anti-ministe-

Digitized by Google

Gifted, as it were, with ubiquity, the *Protean* spirit of disaffection arrays itself in all shapes, multiplies itself in all places: nothing is neglected which can inflame, and irritate, *and deceive the people.* And is not *this* state of things alarming? And does it not call for the co-operating counter-action of all *good men?* I have already said, in my letter to LORD HERTFORD, that, without almost a miracle in politics, *except under circumstances which I will not repeat here,* things cannot regain their equilibrium. I maintain it still: and, without entering into the question of insurrectional vindication, or even at all admitting that such risings can be vindicated, I would refer your Royal High-

rialists. It only shows, that *the most conscientious opposition* to a bad government will, in bad times, be distorted to the worst of purposes.

Digitized by Google

ness to the page of history, where you may see from what inconsiderable and, at first, apparently *contemptible* causes the *overthrow of* DYNASTIES and the *revolution of* EMPIRES has often supervened. "LET HIM THAT STANDETH, TAKE HEED, LEST HE FALL!"—I say this, only *in warning:* God is my witness, that I would not apply it wickedly nor insultingly to my Prince.

Some people, little acquainted with my heart or my principles, have imagined me a *radical Reformer*, catching more at *the letter* than *the spirit* of my few casual observations upon the times: but, I trust, these pages will undeceive them. No, SIR: while God continues to me the blessings of an unimpaired intellect, and a clear apprehension, I will *oppose* anarchy, and

Digitized by Google

support the throne.* Anarchy and radical reform are one: divest its horrid princi-

* "Every body must now be convinced, that a total change, or, rather, subversion, of the present frame and constitution of Parliament, by *universal suffrage and annual elections*, can never be imposed upon this country, but through a sanguinary revolution, proceeding from the lowest and most ignorant; and that ought to be a motive with, and encouragement to, the more intelligent part of the public to consider in what manner, and to what extent, unquestionable imperfections and abuses might be removed, which degrade the character of Parliament, and become the most powerful weapons in the hands of wicked men to expose the Legislature and Government of the country to dangerous disaffection and contempt." LORD ERSKINE'S DEFENCE OF THE WHIGS.

I will go *farther* than the noble and learned Lord, and follow up his observation with the confident hope, and trust, that when that change in administration occurs, WHICH ALONE CAN SAVE US, no time will be lost in effecting those salutary alterations!—without

Digitized by Google

ples of the camelion cheateries with which they obtain among the multitude, and it will not find *one conscientious advocate*. But, SIR, the greater is the pity, it has *many* conscientious advocates! The mass of mankind, either incapable or careless of thinking for themselves, adopt any opinions which are pressed upon them: surrendering at discretion to the first assault upon their weak or lazy minds, the MANY are—as they have ever been—the necessary or willing dupes of the FEW. Hurried, by the most unremitting activity of the revolutionists, into the support of a system which they do not understand, or do not examine; without any premeditation or criminal design whatever, they become participators in the direst conspira-

which, the enemies of all Government will raise the old cry, that MEN, but not MEASURES, have been changed.

Digitized by Google

cy, and acquire—*almost without knowing it themselves*—a senseless and a dangerous enthusiasm in a *bad cause*. These unfortunate converts to the most damnable dogmas that ever *heralded in* a civil convulsion, constitute the greatest numerical and physical strength of the country: but the absolute and collective revolutionary *spirit* of the kingdom, in spite of its many tumultuous risings, is yet confined to a comparatively small number of individuals. But this fact does not render the face of things less threatening. We know how indefatigably these individuals are labouring in the vineyard of rebellion, and how frightfully successful they have been. If the mass of the people are seduced from their allegiance, and the last great calamity come upon us, what consolation is it, when the life-stream is ebbing, to know that the arm which brought us down *in-*

Digitized by Google

flicted the stab in error? Let us, then, neglect no opportunity to inform ourselves of *the real state of the country*, and to counteract its evil symptoms. The reduction of our great war establishments, and the stagnation of trade and employments has brought distresses upon the lower orders, which the enemies of the constitution have insidiously represented as emanating from a tyrannical government: thus imposing upon the people with a false picture of grievances, and sporting with their feelings, in order to exasperate and goad them to revenge.*

* Let not ministers imagine that they are here defended *by implication.* I have nothing to do with the *question of their tyranny,* which I leave other people to raise or to contravene:—but I am quite sufficiently aware of their *unpopularity* to be satisfied that they cannot *keep their places.* Besides, even the tyranny of tyrants may be exaggerated.

Digitized by Google

I come, now, to speak more particularly of the publications to which I have just alluded, and I do it with infinite sorrow. Language is wanting to express all that I feel and apprehend on this subject; and I much doubt if your Royal Highness is prepared to go into such a distressing detail. Of one thing, however, I am certain, that you will not receive my communication with more pain than I impart it. Are you aware, SIR, that the populous towns of this country, and the METROPOLIS in particular, are *deluged with weekly treason, at the cheap rate of a penny and two-pence a Number*—and that doctrines the most blasphemous and the most rebellious are in full circulation, *even among its paupers and its mendicants?* Are you aware, that certain writers are weekly stirring up the people to acts of *overt* revolt, and openly endeavouring to excite them, by arguments the most

Digitized by Google

insidious, and exhortations the most inflammatory and direct, to take up ARMS against the authorities of the land? Are you aware, to the full extent, of the ridicule with which they pursue your person, and the audacity with which they decry your office? Alas, I doubt it much: I know the inaccessibility of Princes to truths like these; and I fear that your Royal Highness has yet found *no* friend, sufficiently hazardous to draw the veil, and discover *the staggering reality*. When I reflect, SIR, on the incredible political enormity of the present press, I cannot help regretting that we were ever blessed with its *liberty*, since we are so cursed with its *abuse*. But I speak *only politically*.

It is one of the fatalities attending upon exalted station, seldom to perceive its danger. Shut out from the consideration of

Digitized by Google

commoner man, Princes too often misunderstand the multitude; and do not easily comprehend how it will move together, like a vast machine, by the workings and the world of passions. The hopes, the fears, the jealousies, the envy, the hatred, the ambition, the uniting and conflicting interests of *millions*, urged on by some extraordinary impulse, applying simultaneously to all, will sometimes rush together in fortuitous, but dreadful concurrence. Blind, furious, and ungovernable, the people strike all at once, like a giant with an hundred arms; and no power, till the brutality exhaust itself, can stand before that terrible automaton. These are the political revolutions which, from time to time, make playthings of thrones, and convulse the world. Not *one thousandth part* of the *mechanical operators* of a revo-

Digitized by Google

lution, have any fixed object or idea: they do not even understand their own principles of action, any more than they anticipate what can be the result of their monstrous combinations.

But, still, they all *act at once:* it is the *long pull,* and the *strong pull,* and the *pull all together*; and when this pull comes, it is irresistible. In order to effect this disastrous consummation, every wicked genius is at work; and if the circulation of the poison be not stayed, and no antidote applied, it will soon be *a miracle* to find an *uninfected* person. The great body of journeymen in all trades, and even *the labouring classes themselves* are artfully *flattered* into insubordination by the revolutionary writers.—They are told that the meanest among them *now* understands the principles of government even *better* than

Digitized by Google

some of His Majesty's Ministers.* But why this appeal to the self-love of the uneducated and sturdy, but that the demagogues calculate upon these in a trial of strength, and know and appreciate well

"The might that slumbers in a peasant's arm!"

I would have your Royal Highness appreciate it too: and what other weapons than *contempt* against a faction which is

* "Almost every labourer in the country knows the essentials of a Government as well, or perhaps better than some of your Ministers."—CARLILE'S LETTER TO YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS.

False, insolent, and disgusting as this writer is, he and his brother rebellionists have already produced a fearful impression upon the lower orders. Besides their incapability to distinguish truth from sophistry, it is very natural that they should yield an immediate and unexamining assent to propositions, which are so calculated to give them good opinions of themselves. They are assailed in every imaginable manner; and it

Digitized by Google

now become truly formidable to the throne. *For the love of God,* SIR, *do not misunderstand me here: I do not mean the* SWORD: *alas, that it has been ever used!*

But the Revolutionists have been *despised* too long: and if they are not now *fought with their own weapons*, and met, wherever they show themselves, with at least as much counteracting energy and activity, *then* is the THRONE lost, and the CONSTITUTION will go with the Throne!

Since that most unfortunate of all events, which has ever thrown any kingdom into a flame, numerous insulting letters have been inscribed to your Royal Highness by individuals of *the lowest description*. The tone

is *morally impossible* for an uneducated community to withstand such repeated attacks.

Digitized by Google

of familiarity which these *ragged Reformers* affect, when they are writing to the most exalted personage in the land, may be smiled at no longer: it wears too *Robespierrian* an appearance. Already the horrid echoes of "DEATH OR LIBERTY" have crossed the Channel; and, feature after feature, we are accomplishing the parallel of that sanguinary epoch.

CARLILE—who was raised into notoriety by an imprudent indictment, and who began by writing for his bread—is writing now for all that *a devil's ambition ever dared to dream of*. Leader of the *open Rebellionists*, he exhorts them weekly to take up ARMS, and prepare for battle: he has thrown off the mask, and stands forward the TYRTÆUS of civil war. A hundred thousand people are made worse subjects every Friday by his writings: on the day of

Digitized by Google

publication Fleet-street is like a fair; and the neighbourhood of his shop is quite impassable. The savage insolence of his letter to your Royal Highness, and the triumphant audacity with which he dares and defies you, are but too characteristic of the times. And will YOU, SIR, and your Ministers, persist in laughing at such demons, and affect to see no danger, *when you are surrounded by the greatest?* Will you be told, by a petty bookseller, *that you have violated your father's oath, and forfeited your title to his crown?*—be told so with IMPUNITY—and yet not be *alive to your danger?* Will you be threatened with the BLOCK, which you have been, both by CARLILE and other writers, in the *plainest* terms, and yet fancy yourself *too high* to be brought down, when *others* have been tumbled from the same eminence, in revolutions less alarmingly be-

Digitized by Google

gun? If during the period when kingly prerogative was at its height in this country, and the people themselves far less *essentially free* than they now are—if, I say, during that period, the refusal of one private gentleman to pay twenty shillings to the crown could light the fire of a destructive rebellion—with what a sadly greater *plausibility* might the like, or even *worse excesses*, originate in a RECENT OCCURRENCE? But I dare not write upon this subject: it has already been made the blazing torch to enkindle mischief through the land, and I will not add fuel to the flame.

It is *the danger of the Throne and the Constitution*, for which I am trembling more and more, that impels me to address your Royal Highness; and if I shall make

Digitized by Google

YOU, SIR, sensible of that, which hitherto you have appeared to disregard, my duty is performed: whatever may result hereafter, I shall sleep with a clear conscience. But can it be *possible* that you are still unconvinced, and indifferently meditate a continuance in *the old track?* Are you so blinded by prejudice, and so confident in miscalculated resources, that you deem yourself inviolable, and these invincible? Has your Royal Highness then overlooked *the appalling link*, by which a wounded self-love has connected some of our MIGHTIEST NOBLES with the most contemptible of the RADICAL REFORMERS? I do not mean to assert, SIR, that these nobles are, themselves, *revolutionists:* but the example of *their identification* (no matter for what purpose) with a set of men, who are only bent upon *blood*

Digitized by Google

and *plunder*, is pernicious beyond imagination, and runs like an *influenza* through the people.*

I will not particularize names: but there is *an unbroken chain of disaffection*, running upwards from the lowest to

* Since writing the above passage, I have thought, in fairness, that I should say something explanatory; it being far from me to impute unworthy motives to any of the Noble Personages at whom I glance.

It is the *overt patronage* of such characters, under such circumstances, not the *actual relief*, that I blame. MINISTERIAL TYRANNY must be every where resisted: no matter *who*, nor *what* the suffering party: *our business is to resist oppression.*

The rights and liberties of a whole people may be, and often are, involved in the interests of unworthy persons. But while we extend a helping hand to such individuals, we should keep back the dangerous SANCTION OF A GREAT NAME: lest our *intervention* be construed into an *approval*, and our *act of specific justice* into an acquiescence in principles that we abhor.

Digitized by Google

the highest in this empire, which cannot escape even the dullest observer. And with this graduated scale of treason before our eyes,—is the present a time to tamper and procrastinate? Good God, SIR, I shudder when I look forward to events; knowing the heart of mankind, as I do. For, if we analyse the most bloody and disastrous revolutions, and apportion back to each individual *his separate share in the whole collective enormity*, we shall only find human nature taking its natural course, and the catastrophe assuming a complexion rather of *coincidence* than *crime!* It is not the enthusiasm of one demagogue, nor the frenzy of another which would singly suffice to shake the foundation of a state like ours; but the bad co-operation of every malignant passion and intriguing spirit, when by some fatality they receive an impetus which puts

Digitized by Google

them all into simultaneous motion. *Even when this is given*, if we understand its principles, we can arrest the mischief by a timely *counter-application*, before the wheels have got into their full play, and the dreadful machinery is propelled by its own weight.

Precisely such, SIR, at this moment, is the situation of the *Political Engine*. It has not yet attained its blind force; but one touch upon the wrong side, would bring it down in thunder upon us! The PRESS has had an influence upon the lower orders, of which those, who are too far removed to observe it, can form but a faint idea. The people are entirely changed: loyalty and religion are not only exploded, but *laughed at*; and the most undisguised *hatred* of the government, and *expectation* of its downfall, are nightly

Digitized by Google

expressed in almost every ale-house in the metropolis. Even the very beggars in the streets are growing insolent at the prospect, and remind recusants that the time is at hand when they will cease to beg, and take forcible possession of their own. Dustmen and porters read and discuss politics; and labourers, journeymen, and masters speak *one language of disaffection and defiance.* I am not charging the picture,—I am rather within bounds.

And now, SIR, cast your eyes over the districts, and observe the people rising in all directions. See the unions that they are forming, the clubs that they are organizing, the correspondence that they are establishing, the resolutions that they are passing. See the women lay aside their softness, and *unsex* themselves, to sail in

Digitized by Google

the storm of rebellion: hear their speeches on the hustings, and their dreadful vows to educate the rising generation in implacable hostility to existing forms! Look at the *caps of liberty* and the *flags of death;* and when you have coupled all these features together, and contrasted them with what preceded the explosion in another country, will your Royal Highness still maintain that we are *groundlessly alarmed?*

The extra-metropolitan press has become inoculated with the same contagion; and the dissemination of revolutionary doctrines, blasphemy, treason, and anarchy, receives a geometrically increasing *impetus*, from the accession of new apostles constantly flowing in. Thus, the gathering snow-ball of rebellion rolls on, making its vast collections. If it be not

Digitized by Google

impeded and dispersed by the rising of the great middle class of the community, who, from some unaccountable infatuation, have hitherto been the passive spectators of its progress, the links of society are dissolved:—the ruinous globe, with all its cumbrous accumulations, will come down with a *desolating weight* upon the throne and the constitution, and we shall ALL be buried in the tremendous *avalanche!*

But my object, SIR, is to awaken your Royal Highness to a sense of your own and the country's danger: not to shake you, nor it, with an unprofitable dismay. If ever there was a time which imperiously called for all good men to show themselves, and to rally round the standard of REAL FREEDOM, in opposition to its FALSELY PRETENDED BANNER, it is

Digitized by Google

now. Now, when *the Radicals* are gaining an accession in strength and numbers, in a proportion almost too rapid to calculate:*—*now*, when every thing that is dear in our social, and fair and beautiful in our moral and political economy, is sapped even to its very foundations!

Do not fancy that I am amusing your Royal Highness with the coinages of imagination: I am no croaking terrorist; and, unhappily for us, my statements are not exaggerated. But that all these horrors

* The increase of the disaffected is almost beyond belief. In the *Northern Counties alone*, to say nothing of the *Metropolis*, and other parts, I am credibly informed that upwards of *four hundred thousand able-bodied men are ready to assert the Cause of Radicality, with arms in their hands!*

Let this be remembered, when I come to speak of the RADICAL PRESS.

Digitized by Google

which I am anticipating, and which I would *counteract*, if my voice might sound like an angel's trumpet through the land, and rouse the middle classes—are the natural consequences of a DEPRAVED PRESS, cannot be too much insisted on. It is susceptible of a proof, even to demonstration, that the people have been corrupted by *the press;* already they are more than half revolutionized; and if they are seduced into the last great felony, it will be less their fault than their misfortune.

Hoc fonte derivata Clades
In patriam populumque fluxit!

I wish to inculcate, as much as possible, the necessity of examining the question in this way; because, it is only by an analysis of this kind that we can mount up into the first elements of our troubles, and

Digitized by Google

concert what may best dissolve them.* A great many people not accustomed to considerations of this nature, fondly imagine that the quantity of political perver-

* The most inveterate and corroding disease to which free governments are subject, is a *perverted press*. But as in the natural, so in the political body, we must direct our operations against the *cause* of the mischief, if we hope to accomplish a cure. It is only by rectifying the *mistakes*, and removing the *abuses* which afford a pretext and a *plausibility* to sedition, that we can strike any effectual blow at the plague itself.

Neither threats, nor bribery, nor any, nor *all* the combined expedients and resorts of tyranny, can ever put down a PRESS, which, however dissolute, is *essentially* free; and, I cannot help observing, that *one* grand and prime mistake has been, the *frequency*, as well as the *rancour* of ministerial prosecutions, which have made the press the *hydra* that it is.

Government has been making mountains of mole-hills, until at last the mole-hills have become really mountains!

Digitized by Google

sity in this country is not adequate to the production of disastrous consequences: but if they had followed, as I have, our *state-epidemic* from stage to stage, through every variation of the disorder, up to its present alarming *access*, they would better understand the CRISIS at which we are, and prepare for its inevitable results.—Does not the very fact, SIR, of this appeal from a private individual to your Royal Highness, argue that the times are altered, and that men's minds are fevered? When have you been so appealed to before? The King was addressed by Junius, in a memorable manner, but if Junius were living now, he would write much more remarkably to YOU!

When I look at all the revolutionary phenomena—*the Radicals* arming, and exhorting to arm—and the allegiance of

Digitized by Google

half the nation hanging, as it were, by a single thread, — and, turning from this contemplation, behold your Royal Highness indifferent, almost to madness, about your own and the kingdom's security, I can with difficulty forgive my Prince his *suicidal* apathy!—Attached, affectionately attached to the Throne, whatever convulsion may overtake us, I will be *the last* to forsake your side; but in the sincerity of this very feeling, SIR, my *right* to a free remonstrance is undeniably founded. Remember, this is not the language of a *courtier;* but of a man less fearing to offend, than anxious to point out your danger.

I have spoken just now of inevitable results: I mean, SIR, by that expression, the REBELLION *which is going to explode.* The metropolitan press and rebellion,—under the present system, at least—are natural

Digitized by Google

cause and *effect;* and if your Royal Highness or your Ministers, have any remaining doubts upon this subject, they will soon be *deplorably removed.* Things have reached their climax: but a REVOLUTION will either be prevented, or induced, according as the MIDDLE RANKS bestir themselves during the REBELLION. If your dependence is placed upon your ARMY alone, for the suppression of a general insurrection, your expectations will be disappointed. It is idle to suppose that the army will draw a single sword against the collective sense of the nation. Whatever may be the DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S sentiments, (and a rumour is gone abroad, that his Grace's voice in the Cabinet *turned the scale,* on a late interesting division, where it was no glory to turn it!) he will not find his troops so ready to obey him,

Digitized by Google

when the charge is against *British bosoms*, and the word of command the signal for a *general fratricide*. The reapers will not go forth to such a *Cadmæan* harvest!—Besides, the men themselves are no longer the same individuals that they were four years ago, flushed with conquest, and inebriated with blood. Peaceably domiciliated among their friends, they have all this while been gradually *collapsing into their civil character;* and to a great degree, they have become amalgamated with the people. The press, also, must have had its necessary influence upon them; since a principal branch of its circulation has been running among their immediate relatives and connexions. So that they cannot have escaped its contaminating effects, any more than the people; although their habitual subjection to command, and their

Digitized by Google

ideas ever reverting to discipline, would naturally hold out a longer siege against the incursions of the poison.

On no military movement, then, unsupported by the great class of the MIDDLE RANKS, can your Royal Highness place the least reliance, or hope from it the smallest advantage. Our salvation is in OURSELVES alone. We must effect the best issue that we can, to a contest no longer avoidable; and I hope, SIR, we shall not be slow, in this tremendous crisis, to rally round *the fairest political edifice that ever yet human ingenuity raised up, and mankind admired!*—I could place in a yet stronger light, SIR, the futility of trusting to your soldiers, without the countenance of your people: but, I think, I have done it sufficiently.

Digitized by Google

With a beating heart, I am now going to touch upon a subject, which, when I sat down to address your Royal Highness I had determined not to disturb: but my feelings carry me away. I have heard, since I began this letter, that it is the fixed resolution of Ministers to make no concession upon THAT point. But it will be at their peril, SIR, so to disregard *the voice of the people*, and to confound it with *radical clamour*.* The Government, and those

* Although a mixture of jealousy and caution may be remarked in the following passage, it breathes *too determined a resolution* to vindicate the RIGHTS of the PEOPLE, to be silently overlooked. Will Ministers call THIS WRITER, also, a *Radical?*

"If, in the repression of any meetings of the people for any object of Reform, *wise or impracticable*, their rights have been infringed, or any wrongs to individuals have been committed, I shall be amongst the first to vindicate every redress which the laws can sanction, and shall be found at all times *ready to resist the slight-*

Digitized by Google

who judge it, are at issue upon many points, the carrying of which would be of much more lasting political importance and benefit to the country: such are triennial parliaments, for instance, which I spoke of to LORD HERTFORD; and the disfranchising of such boroughs as *Gatton* and *Old Sarum*, and such obnoxious anomalies as *Corfe Castle;* together with one or two other of the desirable *delenda* of moderate reform.

But all this, and *ten* times more than

est encroachment upon the national freedom. In such a case, mistaken opinions, or the grossest misconduct of individuals, ought to have no kind of effect TO DISAPPOINT PUBLIC JUSTICE, nor to prevent the union of all classes to uphold the vital security of our liberties. I am not at all acquainted with the details of this interesting and affecting subject, but in whatever shape I can be called upon to consider them, I SHALL BE FULLY PREPARED TO DO MY DUTY."

Preface to the Defence of the Whigs.

Digitized by Google

ever was asked, or expected, might *now* be conceded in vain. There is a bone of contention between the people and the Government, about which—with the exception of the interested parties — there is but *one prevailing opinion:* and however the timid, and those who hate extremities, may be disposed to sacrifice against their consciences, the MULTITUDE is *too much irritated* ever to listen to *any* accommodation, short of *the most signal justice.* The pertinacity with which Ministers continue to refuse this, has brought all the mischief to a head: but it is a moral impossibility to elude it long.

I will not trust myself with any remarks upon the temerity of your Royal Highness's advisers in that business, nor the precipitancy with which their advice was followed. We absolve YOU, SIR, altoge-

Digitized by Google

ther, for your impeccability seals our lips: besides, we have a thorough conviction that the act was not your own. But the cry of the nation is too general, to be *impunely slighted;* and the sooner your Royal Highness dissolves partnership with *the present Men*, the safer will it be for you, and the better for your people! Let me not be misapprehended for an instant: I only speak in the anxiety of attachment; those who are not acquainted with the *radical press*, as I am, can form no notion of the *daring threats* which are weekly levelled at your person and your life. To see and hear these, *and be silent*, would be compromising treason.

If Administration, SIR, had only met that UNHAPPY ACCIDENT in a manly manner, or if they would even do so now, and evince a disposition to conciliate instead of

Digitized by Google

to domineer, it is incalculable what miseries they might spare the country. But I have received such intelligence lately of their determination to persist in this alienating conduct, that I look with the most despairing hopelessness at these obstinate and haughty men. They are the *Jonases of the political storm:* but I would recommend them to leap over-board, and swim for it, rather than wait for the deliverance of the whale. Or do they laugh to scorn the bitter hostilities which their own imprudence has provoked, alike misappreciating the powers of an offended people, and the influence of a rebellious Press? They would be reckoning without their host. But, surely, if they are as well informed, as they *ought* to be, of the vengeance which is daily denounced against them—unless their *Olivers* and their *Castles* have lulled them into a false security—they

Digitized by Google

must begin to feel the necessity of providing for their escape.

It would be unimportant, SIR, to insist upon the simple fact of their *unpopularity*, or even their *inefficiency*, if the hatred which has been engendered by their mismanagement would fasten *only upon themselves*. But it has lit up a feeling of blind and furious resentment, incapable of making nice distinctions between *the employer and the employed*; and which, in the first burst of its impetuosity, may unhappily forget that "the King can do no wrong." Your Royal Highness then, should separate from this fatal cabinet, which does but magnify your danger, and widen the breach between you and the people. The great mass of patient spectators, who are known to be well-affected to the Constitution, but have

Digitized by Google

hitherto declined to interfere between the Government and the Radicals, would declare themselves at once, and strangle Rebellion in its birth.*

It did not form any part of my original plan, in this appeal to your Royal Highness,

* Let me not be understood as advocating ARMED RISINGS, or military associations among the gentry. They are not to be resorted to, *under any pretence whatever;* and do but the more endanger the liberties, which they affect to defend. It is one of the *extremest* symptoms of an *incurable state-malady,* and the immediate forerunner of a *political dissolution.*

Nothing but a *general madness* ever produced a *civil war,* where there existed, *as there does in this country,* A THIRD PARTY STRONG ENOUGH TO TURN THE SCALE.

The *wealth,* the *talent,* and the *respectability* of the nation, have only to make ONE UNIVERSAL CIVIL MOVEMENT, and they may dictate to the *Oligarchs,* and put down the *Anarchs!*

Digitized by Google

intended mainly to rouse you from your apparent apathy, to speak so plainly of the Crown-servants.—Neither is it in bitter-mindedness, but from conviction that I condemn them:—a conviction, SIR, founded on something stronger even than their *official inadequacy*—THE DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST THEM. This determination it is in vain to resist: no people can be governed against its will. I am not speaking of the Radicals now, but of the whole collective nation: and if, *contrary to its sense and its will*, your Royal Highness allows them to continue *by terror of arms*, there is no calculating the extent of the bloodshed *which is sure to follow*. The spirit of freedom, SIR, is not repressible in English bosoms: and if ever an ARMED OLIGARCHY arise among us, though the people may bear its iron yoke for a time, they will eventually wrest the SWORD from the hand of their oppressors.

Digitized by Google

A great many arguments might be adduced to prove that your Royal Highness can no longer associate with your present Ministry, without being held responsible for its proceedings: the disgrace and the danger will be reflective. But for monitory purposes, enough.—" It must always be," says LORD ERSKINE, " a most hazardous conjuncture, when a powerful and populous nation is driven to resort, for its security, to the principles of liberty *in the pure abstract*, without being able to refer to any precedent in its own history for safe guidance and direction." We have reached this hazardous conjuncture; and we are standing upon the verge of a precipice, down which—owing to the *intemperance* of a few individuals, and the *injustice* of a few others—if we do not *rally* and *unite* on the instant, we shall be dashed with an exterminating

Digitized by Google

violence by the hand of anarchical Reformers.*

The secession of Ministers, and the interference of the MIDDLE RANKS, can alone save us from destruction. Let Ministers, then,

* Using, so frequently as I do, the terms *Reformer* and *Radical Reformer*, I have one observation to make, in justice to a large body of men, whom I should be sorry to misrepresent: I mean, the more violent, but *conscientious* ADVOCATES of a *root-and-branch remedy*, in which I cannot acquiesce.

Yet, with whatever objections I may regard their *theory*, and however I shall not cease to deprecate *evulsive* and *extirpatory* measures; I would on no account mix *them* up with those *revolutionary demagogues*, whose object is too plain to be mistaken.

Ultra-radical is the nicer meaning of the term; and in that sense I desire its acceptation, whenever it occurs coupled with bad principles. For it applies only to those *merciless and Spencean innovators*, whom I shall shortly present in their own colours.

Digitized by Google

make *a virtue of necessity;* for, if they will not go out of their own accord, the whole country will rise up, and *demand their dismissal.* They have forfeited the confidence of the people; and to continue them in place after this forfeiture, will not only be *of personal peril to your Royal Highness,* but it will endanger THE VERY POLITICAL EXISTENCE OF THE THRONE ITSELF.

THE END.

Digitized by Google

POSTSCRIPT.

STATE OF THE RADICAL PRESS.

THE incredible circulation of seditious writings among the lower orders *all over the kingdom*, the dangerous avidity with which they are caught at by the simple and uneducated, and the undeniable general ascendancy and popularity of anarchical principles, is one of the worst features of the present times.

That I may not, however, be thought the disseminator of needless alarms, I shall now proceed to give a few *Extracts* from the writings of the Radical Reformers; from which it will sufficiently appear whether, or not, we should be *justified*, in viewing the proceedings of such men with indifference.

If *I*, for one, were not satisfied that the mischief is now *ripe for bursting*; and that we must look our danger in the face, or be blotted, and that speedily, from *political existence*; I would have kept back the revolting picture! But we must not deceive ourselves, nor *be deceived*, any longer.

If the following exposition does not *alarm the Middle Ranks into a saving attitude*, there is no hope that *any*

Digitized by Google

eloquence can rouse them from their devoted apathy: but they must *die* on the *thresholds* which they have not *the spirit to defend!*

EXTRACTS FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE RADICAL REFORMERS.

"Indeed, Mr. Editor, AT THE FALL OF OUR TYRANTS, we must have a far more extensive *rummage into social rights*, a more general search after *national property*, than Mr. Cobbett seems willing to talk about, (though I do not suspect that it is out of any regard for, or to leave himself at liberty to make terms at any future period with *either faction)* at that time; however the "REGIMENT," or their supporters, may twist about or curvet, however THEY may cry aloud, and bellow conspiracy, treason, rebellion, and "*flagrant civil war*," WE *know* WHO *the rebels have been against the* MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE, *their rights, liberties, and property;* —WHO have mulct them of the wages of hire, and reduced them to a worse than Egyptian bondage, and that have kept *them so for twice four hundred years.*

"We must look into the coffers of the descendants of our forefathers' oppressors for plundered wealth; we must look at the land-leviathans' hoards, extorted by excessive rentals charged upon their sweating industrious tenantry;—*we must examine title deeds; we must know by what right, social, natural, or divine, they became possessed of one or other part of the property they hold;* and should they rend the air with their wailings after any unjustly accumulated store, still at a breaking up of an

Digitized by Google

accursed system of exclusion and privilege, JUSTICE MUST BE THE ORDER OF THE DAY. They may cry aloud to the property-mongers, the Mammon worshippers of the land, and the town and country gentry, that cling round the falling system, as the miser hugs, in the agonies of death, the precious darling gold to his breast, and thinks that the only source of happiness; but it will not all do: if these show any disposition to join the unhallowed band, to "*fight for their property,*" as a rich man (a mistaken patriot) once said they *would*, they must even *share the fate of their companions.* If they *will* tempt the PEOPLE after oppressing them, the despots will only have themselves to thank for what they may suffer; as they *had* an opportunity *upon moderate terms* to prevent the punishment submitted."—MEDUSA, *No.* 10, *Vol I. p.* 74, 75.

"It would be worse than madness; it would be a *felo de se* of liberty, and an act of despotism to unborn thousands of millions of the human race, at a breaking up of a system which supports a horde of *great and petty tyrants,* to dispose of the national property which then would *fall into the* PEOPLE'S *hands,* again in *perpetuity,* amongst the then existing inhabitants of the land—it ought to remain national domain.

"*No, no;* friend Cobbett, I *now* believe, would not agree that *any one* should be allowed *to cater or carve for the people, if when plenty comes before them,* THEY *would eat sparingly.*"—MEDUSA, *No.* 11, *Vol. I. p.* 88.

"But why do I say *royalty?* Is there any *charm* in the name? 'Tis *sickening;* and when we reflect on a great nation submitting to be governed BY IT, I cannot help

Digitized by Google

exclaiming *O tempora! O mores!* When this system is *abolished*, and *liberty* and *equality* instituted *in its stead* —"WE SHALL THEN BE FREEMEN AND NO LONGER SLAVES."—MEDUSA, *No. 26, Vol. I. p.* 208.

"I send you the above as a sample of ROYAL PLUNDERERS (the seven sons of his Majesty!) and hope that the eyes of the people will soon be open sufficiently wide to discover the cheats practised on them by THAT INFERNAL TRIO—KINGS, PRIESTS, and NOBILITY!" —MEDUSA, *No. 32, Vol. I. p. 256.*

"If ever it was the duty of Britons to resort to the USE OF ARMS to recover their freedom, and hurl *vengeance* upon the heads of their *tyrants*, it is *now*."—DEMOCRATIC RECORDER, *No.* 1. *p.* 1.

"With respect to the charge of inflaming the minds of our fellow-countrymen (*not fellow-subjects*, for recollect, Sir, that the People of this country are subject to *nothing* but the laws which have been justly enacted,) I, for one, and perhaps one of those alluded to, am proud of the charge, and feel it a duty to *stir up the oppressed* against their oppressors, for in that situation do I conceive the People of this country to be placed, with respect to their rulers, by usurpation; and to express my opinion, that NO MEANS can be considered TOO DARING, if prudent, to effect such *a laudable purpose*." — THE REPUBLICAN, *No. 5, Vol. I. p. 68, 69.*

"The time surely will come, when we shall have an opportunity of bringing justice on their heads, or, was it not for this hope, *I, for one*, should deem it prudent to

Digitized by Google

execute it *in a summary way*, as they do their villainous acts, WITHOUT REGARD TO THE LAW."—THE REPUBLICAN, *No.* 4, *Vol. I. p.* 51.

"An opportunity has been offered you, Sir, to make yourself eminently useful in rescuing man from his present degraded condition; you have neglected that opportunity, and, in so doing, *you have degraded yourself in the eyes of all good men*, and you will finally become, what many Princes have been before you—THE VICTIM OF MISRULE."—THE REPUBLICAN, *No.* 5, *Vol. I. p.* 71.

"In short, *until a reformation takes place*, your Royal Highness cannot *rise in the morning* with a certainty of *retaining your authority till night!*"—THE CAP OF LIBERTY, *No.* 3, *Vol. I. p.* 35.

"We would therefore caution the inhabitants of England *not to slumber on their posts*; but if an attempt be made to wrest from us these our remaining Liberties, and that attempt be sanctioned by the PRINCE, to immediately prove to the world that the spirit *which conducted a* CHARLES *to the scaffold*, may again be successfully exerted to subdue a more *deliberate*, and consequently a MORE GUILTY TYRANT!"—IBID. *p.* 38.

"Thus we see that nothing is to be expected unless by a manly *Declaration* throughout the Country, that the People will no longer be the dupes of a set of *rapacious villains*, and that if the ——— sanctions their attempts to swallow up in the whirlpool of a military despotism, *the imprescriptible rights and liberties of England*, he forfeits the respect which is due to his high official situation, and

Digitized by Google

must shortly expect, *not only to resign his authority*, but also to appear AT THE BAR OF HIS COUNTRY, to answer the charge of HIGH TREASON against the PEOPLE. We must once more express our marked dislike and disapprobation of the word *subject*, which is but another term for *slave*; and yet there is scarcely an Address from any of the Public Meetings of the Reformers, that has not at every other line, "HIS MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS." This is so extremely *servile*, that we most earnestly recommend the Reformers *to drop it altogether*. We really think, after weighing every thing attentively in our mind, that the *sine qua non* must eventually be a resort to —— on the part of the People; and the Juror would be a TRAITOR TO HIS COUNTRY who would say that the PEOPLE in such case *were guilty of treason!*

"If *the Prince* continues to heap wrongs and insults upon the people when they ask for redress, who are supporting his whole family by the sweat of their brow, *as paupers upon the nation*, he must expect to see, ere he closes his eyes upon the world, A —— ELEVATED UPON THE PALACE at WHITEHALL!"—THE CAP OF LIBERTY, *No. 6, Vol. I. p. 95, 96.*

The *Radicals* have here witnessed for themselves; and does their testimony require a comment? It is not the simple overthrow of Government that will satisfy these men: they must have *a general partition of private property:*—universal, indiscriminate, relentless PILLAGE!

I could multiply these extracts *ad infinitum*, but I have answered my present purpose. The "BRITON," from which I have not quoted, and the "MEDUSA," directly advocate *assassination:* and the *whole catalogue*, which I annex, breathes the same levelling and revolutionary

Digitized by Google

spirit. They hold *one creed* of BLASPHEMY, TREASON, and PLUNDER!

The "REPUBLICAN" alone, is supposed to average, weekly, from *sixteen* to *twenty thousand copies:* all its *fellow-prints* have a most extensive and *hourly increasing sale;* and new publications, *advocating the same principles,* are constantly starting up.

Shocked, fatigued, and disgusted, I throw aside my pen, but *not* my anxiety:—to resume it ere long, if the *importance* of my present communication shall not be disregarded by THE COUNTRY.

Digitized by Google

*List of the principal Metropolitan Weekly Publications, which advocate Blasphemy, Treason, and Anarchy.**

1.—THE MEDUSA; *or, Penny Politician.* Established thirty-five weeks: DAVISON, publisher, 10, Duke-street, Smithfield.

2.—THE THEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL COMET; *or, Free-thinking Englishman.* Thirteen weeks: SHORTER, publisher, 49, Wych-street, Strand.

3.—THE LONDON ALFRED; *or, People's Recorder.* Nine weeks: DAVISON, publisher, Duke-street, Smithfield.

4.—THE BRITON. Four weeks: TURNER, publisher, 170, Aldersgate-street.

5.—THE REPUBLICAN. Eight weeks: CARLILE, publisher, 55, Fleet-street.

* I will not attempt to present the public with a *Catalogue Raisonnée* of these writers: it would occupy too many pages. The "*Gorgon*" has been discontinued; but the "*Deist*" and the "*Black Book*" appear every fortnight. The interjectional notes, in this latter work, are of *unparalleled atrocity.*

I have abstained, in the foregoing pages, from any remarks upon our *financial embarrassments,* absorbed as I have been in the contemplation of our *civil difficulties.* But the two together present an AWFUL PICTURE; and ought to unite all good men, in the great work of NATIONAL SALVATION and REFORM!!!

Digitized by Google

6.—The Radical Reformer; *or, the People's Advocate.* Five weeks: Mason, publisher, 21, Clerkenwell-green.

7.—The Democratic Recorder, *and Reformer's Guide.* Three weeks: Dolby, publisher, Strand.

8.—The Cap of Liberty. Six weeks: Davison, publisher, 10, Duke-street, Smithfield.

9.—The White Hat. One week: Teulon, publisher, 67, Whitechapel High-street.

Marchant, Printer,
Ingram-Court, Fenchurch-Street.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

89094363959

B89094363959A

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

89094363959

B89094363959A

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

89094363959

b89094363959a

Digitized by Google